

# The Sun.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1896.

If our friends who favor us with manuscripts for publication wish to have their articles returned they must in all cases send stamps for that purpose.

LOCAL NEWS.—The City and Suburban News Bureau of the United Press and New York Associated Press is at 91 to 99 Ave. C. All information and documents for publication must be submitted to the press of the United Press.

## Revenue.

For the five months preceding the assembling of Congress to-morrow the deficit in the national revenue is forty million dollars. Yet some politicians are said to discourage efforts to remove this deficiency promptly, as though the criminal folly of the present Administration's floundering had become fixed too firmly for its successors to walk the path of reason.

One reason for immediate action toward changing the tariff is the need of revenue, and, in case some think it better to let that condition of affairs continue a while longer, there is a second reason, of almost equal strength, in the need of limiting immediate importations which it is the certain intention of the next Administration to limit, but which will be abnormally increased if the day of limitation is postponed until some time in the future.

For instance, which the freak reformers of the Wilson bill, in treachery to the Democratic tariff principle of revenue only, made free, is certain to be subjected to duty by the Republicans, and, therefore, a duty should be put upon it, and revenue made to flow from it before the close of December. The immediate adoption of such a policy will decrease very greatly, when it comes, the inevitable disturbance incident to another broad rearrangement of the tariff.

The simplest and most expeditious, and, so far as we know, the wisest treatment of the tariff, pending changes to be made more deliberately, is the DINGLEY bill, with all its defects. But DINGLEY or no DINGLEY, the task of reducing the Federal deficit in revenue should not be put off until the next Congress, not even if it meets in extra session on the fourth of next March.

## The Cubans in Guanabacoa.

The latest tidings from Cuba show that the patriot forces, which have several times threatened Guanabacoa, on Friday boldly dashed into the place, drove back its defenders, and set fire to portions of the town.

The significance of this exploit is that Guanabacoa is in the suburbs of Havana, only about half a dozen miles from it by road, fewer across the bay, and practically under the guns of the capital. We can easily believe that, from the large forces at Weyler's command, detachments were hurried to expel the raiders, who, however, had doubtless made off as soon as their work was accomplished. But the moral effect of the dash is obvious, since it has brought home to the people of Havana a sense of the aggressive strength and close presence of hostile forces which the Captain-General says that he searches for in vain.

Of late the operations of MACEDO in Pinar del Rio province have been the centre of attention, together with those of WEYLER in the effort to dislodge him. But now the co-operative movements of patriot forces intended to distract the Spaniards in that campaign begin to be seen. The moves of GOMEZ and MACEDO are well timed, and a dash like that upon Guanabacoa is of a kind to be understood in Spain.

We have heard much for months to the effect that the recognition of a state of war in Cuba is not a question of sympathy, but of facts. Be it so. What further facts are we waiting for before according to the patriots both belligerency and independence?

## The Rumors as to Mr. Cleveland's Treatment of the Cuban Question in To-Morrow's Message to Congress.

Not one of the many printed rumors as to what Mr. CLEVELAND will say about Cuba in his message to Congress is worth a button. Lots of the rumor-mongers pretend to have genuine information upon the subject; but then they contradict each other at almost every point, and hardly any two of them are in agreement as to anything of which they talk.

Speculation, therefore, is in order.

We do not expect that Mr. CLEVELAND will make any disclosure of a surprising kind relative to the Cuban-Spanish question. We have had the opportunity of learning something about the relations between the Spanish Government and the American, and we can say that the sentiments of the men who carry on the correspondence between them, have been made manifest through their conduct. It is certain that the President is not likely to give us any new information about the state of things in Cuba, or about the war there, or about the purposes and prospects of the belligerents.

We do not expect that Mr. CLEVELAND will make any startling remarks as to his own desires or designs in the case of Cuba. It would not accord with his habit of mind to do so, though he unexpectedly upheld the rights of Venezuela a year ago.

We do not expect from him any sign of bravery, or of regard for the liberties of an oppressed American people. He had the opportunity to perform a great and good deed half a year ago, when the belligerency resolutions of Congress were presented to him, and he has had other opportunities for honorable service since then. He has rejected them all. He has skulked upon every occasion.

We do not expect that Mr. CLEVELAND will notify Congress of any change in his mind as to Cuba, or will ask Congress to act in such a way that would authorize him to adopt a better policy regarding the Spanish-Cuban question, or will seek the judgment of Congress at all as to any feature of the case. The unexpunged failure of his Administration has not brought about any reduction of his self-sufficiency.

We do not expect that he will inform Congress that he has notified Spain that she must put a time limit upon the war against Cuba, or that there will be intervention on the part of this Government if she shall still be unsuccessful at the end of the specified time, let it be three months, or half a year, or such a period as Spain herself may be pleased to fix. The war has already been prosecuted by Spain for nearly two years, without a word of remonstrance from this Government.

We do not expect that Mr. CLEVELAND will give utterance to any such language about Spanish atrocities in Cuba as Spain heard from President GRANT at the time of the last Cuban revolt. The Spanish Captain-General of Cuba has violated the laws of war in a notorious manner; but, though this Government has a right to enter its protest against such shameful crimes as

WEYLER has perpetrated, not a syllable of protest has been sent to Madrid by the President in the name of the United States. Indeed, we do not expect that Mr. CLEVELAND will make any important or valuable statement of any kind as regards the Spanish-Cuban question in his message to Congress next Monday. We expect from him nothing other than hebetudinous upon that subject of transcendent interest.

It is upon Congress that the duty of giving judgment, or directing action upon it, must devolve. In view of the existing situation in Cuba, Congress would be amply justified in acknowledging the independence of the Cuban republic, justified by law, by right, by reason, and by precedent. The coming session is the time for such acknowledgment. If this honorable policy be not adopted by Congress, which is the authority that determines the foreign policy of the Government, we shall be responsible in some measure for the indefinite prolongation of a war, the story of which will doubtless be even blacker and more bloody than that of Spain's ten years' war in Cuba.

## A Manly Trait of the President-Elect.

We suppose that numberless people were delighted with a despatch from Canton which we printed on Thursday. It showed that Major MCKINLEY takes pleasantly one of those experiences which must be endured by a man in his position, but which a less complaisant President-elect would surely regard as a trial for the soul.

We learned from the despatch that when Senator LODGE, who, it is said, does not desire any particular favor from the next Administration, made a friendly call upon Major MCKINLEY at Canton, a few days ago, he took notice of the way in which the Major made it manifest that he possesses a very uncommon trait of character. He is never disturbed by the visits of men who desire to interest him in their behalf. He gives welcome to all such men, each one of whom goes off feeling the assurance that his case will be considered. Not only are great politicians who may desire high place under the Government received with cordiality, but the plainest citizen who seeks any small thing, is treated as such a one ought to be treated by a statesman who has the power to grant his request. No visitor is a bore to the sage of Canton. No storming party gives him any trouble. No one can, at any time, throw him into perplexity.

While the Senator was at Mr. MCKINLEY's home in Canton, he was surprised by what he saw there. A young chap from another part of Ohio dropped into ask for a place as messenger at the White House. "To the average public man," as Senator LODGE afterward remarked, "requests of this kind would be as annoying as nettles; but MCKINLEY did not seem to mind it at all; he greeted the young chap very cordially and treated him with the utmost politeness." Other men entered the house while the Senator was there, and sometimes they came in pairs. Two old soldiers advanced into the reception room for the purpose of talking to the next President about their pensions, which had not been paid. "MCKINLEY," we are told by the Senator from Massachusetts, "listened to their stories with as much courtesy and consideration as he could have shown a man he was thinking about for the Cabinet."

The procession continued, without ever disturbing the calm-minded politician toward whom it was directed. This sort of thing goes on steadily. "MCKINLEY sees almost everybody who calls, and is uniformly courteous to all."

The Senator does not make mention of any of the men of distinction who may have called at the Canton house during his stay in it. He dwells merely upon the pleasant way in which unimportant callers were received. Be it said, all of it, to the honor of the President-elect.

It had better not be inferred, from the trait of character thus illustrated in the sketches of the Senator, that the possessor of it is a yielding, malleable, irresolute individual. It would be a mistake to draw any such inference from the manifestations of democratic courtesy at Canton. Major MCKINLEY is known to the American people as a man of explicit thought, determined purpose, and austere temper. He would not mislead anybody, or trifle with any visitor. If he promised to give that young Ohio chap a place in the White House, or made a promise to the two old Ohio soldiers that he would think of their pensions, we have no doubt that he will keep his word. It is pleasing to know that the next President of the United States is not of the next year's President of Hungary. It is the law, also, that in speaking of him he must be referred to as his Majesty the Emperor or King, or, more shortly, as his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty. We have italicized the and because the omission of the particle in 1899 at provoked a threat of resignation on the part of the Hungarian Ministers. Although the offices are thus carefully distinguished, the person of the monarch must always be the same. The rules of succession are identical in the two countries. The monarch, at large free to abdicate entirely, is not at liberty to leave one throne and keep the other. As regards his functions, the Emperor-King has the command of the joint army and navy; supervises the administration of matters common to both countries, and has power to make ordinances with respect to them. For the exercise of command, he is supported by three joint Ministers, respectively set over foreign affairs, war, and finance. We should add that his consent is required for the validity of any act of the joint legislature.

This joint legislature, the deliberative body of the dual monarchy, is one of the most extraordinary of political inventions, and yet it has worked with tolerable smoothness for nearly thirty years. It consists of two delegations, one from Austria, the other from Hungary, each composed of sixty members, of whom twenty are chosen by the upper and forty by the lower house of the Parliament pertaining to each country. The delegates are elected annually, and they must be summoned by the Emperor to meet at least once a year. In everything that relates to their sessions and proceedings, the most scrupulous regard is paid to the equality of the two countries. Their meetings, for example, are held alternately at Vienna and Budapest, and the proposals of the Government are laid before both bodies at the same time. In the Austrian delegation all the proceedings are in German; in the Hungarian, in Magyar, except the Croats, of whom there must be five in the Hungarian delegation, are allowed to use their own tongue. All communications between the two delegations are made in both languages. It seems to have been the object of the Hungarian statesmen not only to maintain the equality of the two nations, but to prevent them from fusion, and to avoid even the appearance of a common Parliament, for the delegates debate and vote separately, except in a single case. If

they disagree about any measure, and if after the third exchange of communications an accord is not reached, either delegation may demand a common session. No debate, however, is permitted, and the only business transacted in joint session is the settling of a vote on the matter about which the delegations had failed to agree. It is provided, moreover, that the same number of delegates from each country shall take part in the joint session, the side which has most members present being reduced by lot until the two sides are equal.

At the first glance, this system seems contrived to assure to each half of the monarchy an equal influence. In reality, it gives an advantage to Hungary. This is due to the fact that the Magyars have made themselves the dominant people in Hungary, and have stamped out the opposition of the other races (except in the case of the Croats), while the Germans have not done so in Austria. The result is that the Hungarians act in concert far more than the Austrians, and it is often possible for the Magyars, when a joint session is held, to persuade the Poles, or some other group in the Austrian delegation, to vote with them, and thus give them a majority. The much greater solidity of the Hungarian delegation causes the joint Ministers to rely upon it for support, and gives it, in turn, a great influence over their policy. This state of things explains the current saying that Hungary enjoys seventy per cent. of the power in the empire for thirty per cent. of the cost. That she wields a much larger share of power than she could claim on the score of population or of wealth, is evident from the fact that during twenty-one out of the twenty-nine years that have elapsed since the union was formed, the foreign affairs of the dual monarchy have been in the charge of a Magyar. A striking proof of Hungary's preponderance was recently furnished when a discussion between Baron BANFELY, the Hungarian Premier, and Count KALOSKY, the joint Minister for Foreign Affairs, took place after the latter's resignation.

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We need not see how it comes to pass that the whole joint legislation of the dual monarchy, ruled over by the House of HAPSBURG, is substantially a series of treaties, partly permanent and partly temporary, which cannot be changed or prolonged by any common legislature, but only by the contracting parties themselves.

treatment of the liquor question in this State.

This underbred fellow also tells Senator RAINES that the law is "monstrously productive of evil," and calls it "that inveterate thing," yet in simultaneous letters to the Police Department and the Building Department he charges specifically that the evasions of it are due to the lax enforcement of its provisions and those of other laws relating to hotels. He implies further, moreover, that the District Attorney's office is largely responsible by being in "affiliation with the criminal classes," and that "the supreme purpose of its efforts" is not "to treat criminals so as to make law-breaking disreputable and dangerous."

The liquor law which bears the name of Senator RAINES introduced a principle in the treatment of the liquor question which has proved so valuable in practice that it is not likely ever to be departed from in this State. As a method of raising revenue it has proved successful beyond expectation, and it has taken the liquor saloons out of politics and relieved them from the political evasions, and blackmail to which previously they had been subjected, with great consequent demoralization in the police force.

With a view to discovering if amendments of provisions of the law are necessary, Senator RAINES and his committee are conducting an open investigation, of whose fairness no question is made. The purpose is to remedy any defects which may have appeared in the operation of the law. PARKER has seized this opportunity to insult Senator RAINES, and to reveal again the coarseness of nature which makes him the blackguard he is.

## The Curious Dualism of Austria-Hungary.

The announcement of the Austrian Minister of Commerce that Austria's commercial treaty with Hungary will shortly be denounced, is likely to perplex some American readers, who are unfamiliar with the intricate and anomalous relations of the two monarchies associated under the rule of the House of HAPSBURG. It may be well, therefore, to point out precisely what those relations are, and why the word treaty is applicable to the commercial arrangements made by one part of FRANCIS JOSEPH's subjects with another part. To this end we avail ourselves of Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL's exhaustive study of the subject in his recently published work, "Governments and Parties in Continental Europe."

The compact between the two halves of the HAPSBURG realm, which had been agreed upon between the Emperor, Baron BEUST, and FRANCIS DEAK, was enacted in the shape of a substantially concurrent statute by the Hungarian Parliament and the Austrian Reichsrath in 1867. These two laws regulated the structure and functions of the joint Government, but they do not form a constitution in the sense of a single, authoritative document, for, although alike in substance, they are not identical in form. The organic law, thus established, can be amended only in the way in which it was originally made; that is, by concurrent action of the Parliaments of Austria and Hungary, sanctioned by the Emperor. The two principal statutes were supplemented by others. Thus, one pair of statutes determined the quota to be paid by Hungary on account of the interest on the Imperial debt; a second pair of statutes regulated for ten years Hungary's share of the common expenses; and a third pair, voted Dec. 24, 1867, established a tariff and trade union for the same period. These last two pairs of laws were renewed in 1878 and again in 1887. It is the third pair, creating a tariff and trade union, the pair which is commonly described as a commercial treaty, that has been denounced by the Austrian Minister of Commerce. The denunciation means, of course, that Austria will decline to renew the tariff and trade union in the present form. But, no doubt, some kind of an agreement will be reached by the associated countries.

The first and principal connecting link between Austria and Hungary is the monarch himself, whose functions, however, and even whose titles are carefully distinguished in the two countries. There is no such thing as an Emperor of Austria-Hungary. There is an Emperor of Austria, meaning thereby all the countries represented in the Vienna Reichsrath, and there is a King in Hungary, both sovereigns being united in the person of FRANCIS JOSEPH. He begins his reign with two separate coronations, one at Vienna, the other at Budapest; and by an order of Nov. 14, 1868, he is styled "Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia, and of the Kingdom of Hungary." It is the law, also, that in speaking of him he must be referred to as his Majesty the Emperor or King, or, more shortly, as his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty. We have italicized the and because the omission of the particle in 1899 at provoked a threat of resignation on the part of the Hungarian Ministers. Although the offices are thus carefully distinguished, the person of the monarch must always be the same. The rules of succession are identical in the two countries. The monarch, at large free to abdicate entirely, is not at liberty to leave one throne and keep the other. As regards his functions, the Emperor-King has the command of the joint army and navy; supervises the administration of matters common to both countries, and has power to make ordinances with respect to them. For the exercise of command, he is supported by three joint Ministers, respectively set over foreign affairs, war, and finance. We should add that his consent is required for the validity of any act of the joint legislature.

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The celebration of the Queen's reign of sixty years will take place in June next, and will be held throughout the British dominions the world over. There never lived a queen whose reign in honor such an extensive celebration could be held. Countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, all under the British flag, will take part in it. There are hundreds of millions of British subjects in the world, more millions of them than live, or ever have lived, under any other Government. Not only are they all British subjects, but they are all British in sentiment. In Ireland there is famine and plague; in Canada there is abjection; in British South Africa there is death for the blacks; in England itself there is a popular slough of despond. Once there was a Holy Roman Empire, we live in a time when there is no such thing as a British empire. We should think that MOONY and SANKEY would try their hands at the improvement of it.

Gen. Hamilton on Gen. Halleck.

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At the first glance, this system seems contrived to assure to each half of the monarchy an equal influence. In reality, it gives an advantage to Hungary. This is due to the fact that the Magyars have made themselves the dominant people in Hungary, and have stamped out the opposition of the other races (except in the case of the Croats), while the Germans have not done so in Austria. The result is that the Hungarians act in concert far more than the Austrians, and it is often possible for the Magyars, when a joint session is held, to persuade the Poles, or some other group in the Austrian delegation, to vote with them, and thus give them a majority. The much greater solidity of the Hungarian delegation causes the joint Ministers to rely upon it for support, and gives it, in turn, a great influence over their policy. This state of things explains the current saying that Hungary enjoys seventy per cent. of the power in the empire for thirty per cent. of the cost. That she wields a much larger share of power than she could claim on the score of population or of wealth, is evident from the fact that during twenty-one out of the twenty-nine years that have elapsed since the union was formed, the foreign affairs of the dual monarchy have been in the charge of a Magyar. A striking proof of Hungary's preponderance was recently furnished when a discussion between Baron BANFELY, the Hungarian Premier, and Count KALOSKY, the joint Minister for Foreign Affairs, took place after the latter's resignation.

The delegations can hardly be said to possess any real legislative power. The organic compact provides that their competence shall extend to all matters touching the common affairs; but in practice they are confined to voting supplies and exerting a control over the administrations. The delegations have nothing to do with commercial affairs, including the tariff, or with legislation about the indirect taxes which affect industrial production, or with money and coinage, or with the military system, or even with railroads which concern the interests of both halves of the realm. The whole of this class of subjects, most of which in other Federal governments fall within the province of the central legislature, are regulated in the dual monarchy, not by the delegations, but by concurrent statutes of the two parliaments, and thus nearly everything in the nature of positive law must be enacted separately in Austria and Hungary.

We need not see how it comes to pass that the whole joint legislation of the dual monarchy, ruled over by the House of HAPSBURG, is substantially a series of treaties, partly permanent and partly temporary, which cannot be changed or prolonged by any common legislature, but only by the contracting parties themselves.

The celebration of the Queen's reign of sixty years will take place in June next, and will be held throughout the British dominions the world over. There never lived a queen whose reign in honor such an extensive celebration could be held. Countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, all under the British flag, will take part in it. There are hundreds of millions of British subjects in the world, more millions of them than live, or ever have lived, under any other Government. Not only are they all British subjects, but they are all British in sentiment. In Ireland there is famine and plague; in Canada there is abjection; in British South Africa there is death for the blacks; in England itself there is a popular slough of despond. Once there was a Holy Roman Empire, we live in a time when there is no such thing as a British empire. We should think that MOONY and SANKEY would try their hands at the improvement of it.

Gen. Hamilton on Gen. Halleck.

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more temporary phenomenon. Genius, like the wind, bloweth where it listeth," Dr. NICOLL is a little unjust to our young writers. There are hundreds of them, all writing, and very properly keeping their fingers before them. Genius, bloweth, and a few of the best of them are worth the delegations had failed to agree. It is provided, moreover, that the same number of delegates from each country shall take part in the joint session, the side which has most members present being reduced by lot until the two sides are equal.

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